782, 231

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

/For description of the sacrifice of buffaloes at death and other feasts, see also category 764./

428 /44 cont./ Generally one acquires distant land through
471 inheritance. People like to keep (1) land located in the kampong
602

1. Compare the data for the colonist groups, pp. 76 ff.

from which they come themselves, or from which their parents come and where kinsmen live. The figures from Pakatto merely indicated that the tie to land situated in the kampong of origin is only gradually loosened when a well-integrated group of relatives has arisen in a new environment.

471 The average landholding amounts to a good one-half hectare of sawah land and almost three-quarters of a hectare of dry land, for each six persons. For the greater part, there-
[241] fore, they are all small farming enterprises (2).

2. The figures for the most important livestock (buffaloes, goats, horses) among the three groups is as follows:

231
556
612

	Buffaloes	Goats	Horses
Kapala group	193	23	11
Mangenre group.	19	—	--
Rest group.	26	14	1

556 Among the kampong residents it seems that only one
471 individual is in a position to bring together a land area of more
558 than 3 hectares, thanks to special personal qualities. In the generation following his, however, this holding falls apart again, because it rarely happens that a man who brought together the property produces a son capable of keeping it intact.

471 This proportion of landholdings to individuals may be re-
556 garded as normal in the case of these ordinary kin groups. Otherwise, the area is not unacquainted with large landownership.

Sumatra OD1
Java OE1
Madura OE6
Makassar OG6
Aru OH5

[386 cont.]

I 226 227 expedition is a kind of folk sport, since there are always many participants.

[387] A special kind of fishing is the troeboek fishing, which has been practiced since time immemorial by the inhabitants of the Brouwersstraat (between the island Bengkalis and the coast of Sumatra at the estuary of the Siak River). These people [illustration appears here] form a kind of association, headed by the Djindjang-radja, a woman who at certain times functions as a shaman to conjure up the spirit that rules over the troeboek.

S [463 791 776 226]

The troeboek, a kind of shad, is caught for its roe (telor troeboek).

I S J 228 231

[388] Fish nurseries are also found in the archipelago, in fishponds for both salt-water and fresh-water fish. Fresh-water fishponds are found everywhere, especially on Java, western Java in particular, but also on the west coast of Sumatra and in the Tapanoeli Residency on Sumatra. The fish nurseries are made with dams near the banks of rivers, a section of which is fenced in, or in ponds and little lakes. It is customary in the Preanger, instead of using the sawahs for a second crop after the rice harvest, to use them as fishponds. Salt-water fishponds, used chiefly for the spawning of bandèng, are found especially on the north coast of Java, particularly in the Surabaja Residency, in the Djoewànâ (Joana) district of Semarang, and in Batavia, as well as on the coasts of Madura and the southern coast of Celebes. The ponds at Gresik (Grissee) in Surabaja sometimes have a surface of about 20 hectares and are usually not smaller than two hectares; they are divided into a number of sections by dams.

Md MK [228 231]

A special place must be given the pearl and mother-of-pearl fishing; these are practiced primarily along the coast of the Aru Islands, where in particular the banks of the eastern part, the so-called Achterwal, are very rich in pearl-shells and yield a mother-of-pearl that is famous as the best on the market; the pearls, however, are inferior to those of Ceylon. Since 1905, the right to fish for pearls and mother-of-pearl in these areas has been leased by the Government to an Australian company,

A 228

A [636]

[Text continues on p. 435]

Malays AN5
Batak OD5
Makassar OG6
Bali OF7

M1 [125 cont.]
Bc the Malays, as is shown by the name sabung; hence, one finds
541 it exclusively among those of Mandailing. Besides the Malays,
MK the Makassarese and Buginese are also ardent lovers of this sport.
541 Among them cockfights take place not only on festive occasions
231 and marketdays, but almost daily. They raise and maintain their fighting cocks with the greatest care, and their infatuation with them goes so far that a special nobility has been created for these animals. This nobility can be acquired by the bird's own victory or by those of his ancestors. If a cock has particularly distinguished himself during a fight, his descendants are named after him and his pedigree will be faithfully kept. Before an animal fights, one must check to see whether or not he belongs to the nobility. If he does, then there is still the question as to whether his patent of nobility is of a more recent or more ancient date, because the cocks of ancient nobility are highly esteemed and large amounts are bet on them. Makassarese and Buginese writings incessantly mention cocks as examples of courage and heroes are repeatedly compared with fighting cocks. Here, too, the cocks are provided with artificial spurs. One can appreciate how sharp they are by knowing that they are made primarily from old English razors. The betting during the fights
MK sometimes runs very high. Eight thousand guilders has been bet
[525] on a cock of ancient nobility (2).

2. Matthes, Bijdrage t. d. Ethnologie v. Z. Celebes, pp. 116 f. De Serrière, Tijdschr. v. Ned. Ind., 1873, Vol. I, p. 92. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 131.

BI Besides southern Celebes, cockfights are also held on Bali.
541 This amusement, however, was introduced to the Balinese,
[126] who learned it from the Malays, as was also the case
I among the Javanese, Makassarese, and Buginese. We should
541 add that according to No. 10 of the General Police Criminal
673

M 175 565 tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]

[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M 793 838 ●231 881 304 574 I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles.--Analyst] This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati. But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M 182 771 Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I reminded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I 181 Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, and the like brought up further questions. 000 [838] 304 881 574 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them. 565 562

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f. 50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts. 527 574 548 435 567 535

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident. 554 565

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. [obligations reflecting respect for higher rank] 178 466 622 565

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a feast. 533

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10 Toradja OB11
Bali OF7 Makassar OB6
Borneo OC1
215

the individual body, health and the rules of magic in life, the possession of goods, the relationship to offspring and to married couples, belong practically everywhere to the life-circle of persons, which is protected against encroachment.

B. INDONESIAN TERMINOLOGIES

The various injuries have their own names—sometimes original names, in the case of a closely related group of actions, such as all sorts of theft, although the native names for delicts are very elastic in their meanings, such as "dago dagi" (Minangkabau), meaning disobedience toward those in adat authority, and "kagau gau" (Buginese), meaning to do something bad.

The fines for delicts are established in a specific relation to the offense, which cannot be further explained; for example, three plates for an ordinary insult, three plates and a pig for a serious insult, ten plates for insulting a chief (among the Lawangan Dyaks). This is one sample of the relation between the delict and fine taken at random from thousands of others, all as inexplicable as this.

The fines for delicts frequently show their magic character in their insistence in naming the goods which are owed by the delinquent (so many buffaloes, so many slaves, for instance) and then, without objection, allowing these goods actually to be replaced by objects of small monetary value or by a sum of money.

The fines for delicts have their specific designation in various law-areas, for example: "bosi sebelas kepala tajau" (West Borneo), a pot of the value of ten heads (kepala—head, in Malay) and twelve detached heads, which is the fine not for one sort of delict but for a group of various delicts (probably equal in degree). The Toraja distinguish between offenses committed with the mouth, for which the fine is based on payment in chickens; offenses committed with the hand, for which the fine is based on the value of goats; offenses committed with the whole body, where the fine is based on payment of buffaloes. According to the seriousness of the offense, the actual fine for delict consists, for instance, of a chicken with three things in addition, or of a buffalo with five things added to it, etc. In the Balinese desa, many offenses are punished by a money fine. Thus each law-area has its specific delict and reaction pattern. It seems to be a general characteristic that in cases of theft (and other offenses against property) the fine consists of a payment of twice or several times the value of the stolen property.